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FOR THE AMB

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

HZTAGS: PFOR EG IS SY

SUBJECT: WALDHEIM'S COMMENTS ON MEETINGS WITH
SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS

SUMMARY: ACCORDING WALDHEIM, SYRIANS AGAIN REJECTED
ANY RESUMPTION OF STEP BY STEP APPROACH AND PREPARATORY
CONFERENCE IDEA SO LONG AS LATTER EXCLUDES PLO.
WHILE SYRIANS WOULD LIKE TO RENEW UNDOF MANDATE,
THEY WANT TO LINK IT WITH UNSC DEBATE MODIFYING
RESOLUTION 242. WHEN TOLD ANY SUCH RESOLUTION WOULD
ASSUREDLY BE VETOED, SYRIANS INDICATED INDIFFERENCE
AND SUGGESTED SUCH USG VETO WOULD REFUTE EGYPTIAN
CONTENTION SINAI II HAS BENEFITED ARABS. ISRAELIS

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TOTALLY OPPOSED TO SYRIAN APPROACH AND FORMALLY

ASKED FOR SIX MONTH EXTENSION OF UNDOF. WALDHEIM RETURNS TO SYRIA TOMORROW FOR SECOND ROUND OF TALKS. HE IS TOYING WITH IDEA OF TRYING TO SEPARATE UNDOF MANDATE RENEWAL AND SYRIAN INSISTENCE ON UNSC DEBATE WHERE PLO WOULD BE HEARD AND NEW RESOLUTION CHANGING 242 WOULD BE CONSIDERED. IF SYRIANS COULD BE TOLD UNSC MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE EARLY NEXT YEAR TO CONSIDER THEIR SUBSTANTIVE IDEAS, WALDHEIM BELIEVES THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO EXTEND UNDOF MANDATE NOW ROUTINELY. THIS WOULD ALSO OFFER BREATHING PERIOD DURING WHICH PROBLEM COULD BE FURTHER CONSIDERED. WALDHEIM WOULD WELCOME YOUR REACTION OR ANY OTHER THOUGHTS YOU MAY HAVE ON HOW TO PROCEED. MURPHY CAN CONTACT HIM AT DAMASCUS GUEST HOUSE IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL THERE AT 1700 LOCAL TOMMORROW. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG WALDHEIM, WHO ARRIVED IN CAIRO THIS MORNING, ASKED ME TO COME BY LATE THIS AFTERNOON. HE WANTED THE FOLLOWING ORAL REPORT ON HIS TALKS WITH THE SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS SENT TO YOU, APOLOGIZING THAT HE COULD NOT SEND THE CUSTOMARY PERSONAL MESSAGE SINCE HE LACKS THE TECHNICAL FACILITIES HERE TO DO SO. HE SPOKE WITHOUT NOTES. GUYER WAS ALSO PRESENT.

2. WALDHEIM FIRST RECALLED THAT HE HAD MET WITH YOU PRIOR TO HIS MIDDLE EAST TRIP AND THAT YOU HAD ENDORSED IT. YOU HAD REQUESTED THAT HE SOUND OUT THE SYRIANS ON REVERTING TO THE STEP BY STEP APPROACH IN WHICH CASE YOU REMAINED WILLING TO WORK FOR A SECOND DISENAGEMENT AGREEMENT ON GOLAN OR, FAILING THIS, ON THE IDEA OF AN INFORMAL PREPARATORY CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER AGENDA, PARTICIPANTS ETC. FOR A SUBSEQUENT GENEVA CONFERENCE. IN SEVERAL LONG MEETINGS WITH ASAD AND, SEPARATELY, WITH KHADDAM, HE HAD DONE SO. SYRIAN REACTION WAS NEGATIVE ON BOTH IDEAS. ON THE FIRST, ASAD HAD SAID HE HAD ALREADY TOLD MURPHY THAT HE NO LONGER REGARDS THE STEP BY STEP APPROACH AS VIABLE. WHEN WALDHEIM BROACHED THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE IDEA, ASAD IMMEDIATELY ASKED WHETHER THE PLO WOULD BE INVITED TO ATTEND. WALDHEIM

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SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE AND ASAD THEREUPON REJECTED THE IDEA AS UNSATISFACTORY. ASAD STRESSED THAT SYRIA INSISTS ON MOVING IN TANDEM WITH THE PLO.

3. ASAD THEN MADE CLEAR HIS BELIEF THAT THE UNSC SHOULD BECOME THE FORUM FOR PEACE TALKS AND THAT UN RESOLUTION 242 NEEDS TO BE CHANGED. ASAD ADDED HE IS WILLING TO EXTEND UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX

MONTHS, BUT WANTS TO LINK THIS WITH A RESOLUTION CHANGING 242. SOMETHING CONCRETE MUST HAPPEN IN THESE SIX MONTHS. IN HIS VIEW, UNSC SHOULD PASS A NEW RESOLUTION WHICH MIGHT CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) UNSC WOULD BECOME THE FORUM FOR ALL FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM; (B) THE NATIONAL RPT NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE RECOGNIZED; (C) UNSC SHOULD SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM "THE ARAB TERRITORIES" OCCUPIED IN 1967; (D) PLO SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN UNSC DEBATE; (E) UNSC SHOULD ESTABLISH THE REQUIREMENTS AND PREREQUISITES OF PEACE IN THE AREA (WALDHEIM INTERJECTED HE DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THIS IS INTENDED TO MEAN); (F) UNSC SHOULD COMPLETE ITS WORK WITHIN SIX MONTHS; (G) EXTENSION OF UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX MONTHS.

4. WALDHEIM NOTED SYRIANS HAD DONE THEIR HOMEWORK. ASAD WAS AWARE THAT OBTAINING A HEARING FOR THE PLO IS A PROCEDURAL MATTER NOT SUBJECT TO THE VETO. WALDHEIM SAID HE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SYRIANS THAT THIS APPROACH WAS NOT VIABLE. UN RESOLUTION 242 HAD BEEN OBTAINED AFTER MUCH DIFFICULTY AND IS A CAREFULLY BALANCED EFFORT. USG AND PROBABLY OTHERS WOULD VETO ANY NEW SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION ALONG LINES PROPOSED BY ASAD. ASAD RESPONDED HE DID NOT CARE IF USG DOES SO. SUCH ACTION BY USG WOULD SHOW THAT SINAI II DID NOT FURTHER ARAB INTERESTS AS EGYPTIANS CLAIM. (WALDHEIM EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW THAT, APART FROM WANTING TO POSE AS CHAMPION OF PLO, ONE OF MAIN SYRIAN OBJECTIVES IS TO UNDERCUT SINAI II).

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5. GUYER SUGGESTED THERE IS A LINKAGE BETWEEN SYRIAN DESIRE FOR MIDDLE EAST DEBATE AND PERTINENT SYRIAN PROPOSED UNGA DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT HAS JUST SURFACED AND OBJECTIVES CITED ABOVE. IN HIS VIEW, SYRIANS WANT TO OBTAIN A UNGA RESOLUTION WHICH CAN BE USED TO PRESSURE UNSC TO MODIFY UN RESOLUTION 242. FAHMY, WHO HAD SEEN SYRIAN DRAFT, HAD ACKNOWLEDGED IT WAS A SHORTSIGHTED TACTIC, BUT SAID GOE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SUPPORT THAT DRAFT RESOLUTION. GOE CANNOT APPEAR LESS INTERESTED IN THE PALESTINIANS THAN THE SYRIANS.

6. WALDHEIM RECOUNTED HE HAD THEN GONE TO ISRAEL AND MET WITH RABIN, ALLON AND PERES. HE HAD RELATED SYRIAN POSITION. ISRAELIS HAD BEEN COMPLETELY NEGATIVE. THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY OF SYRIAN PROPOSALS AND

FORMALLY TOLD WALDHEIM THAT GOI WANTED A SIX MONTH RENEWAL OF UNDOF.

7. SINCE HIS MEETINGS WITH SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS, WALDHEIM HAS BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT MIGHT BE DONE. HE GOES TO LEBANON TOMORROW AND IS THEN SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO SYRIA 1700 LOCAL TIME. HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT RIGID SYRIAN POSITION IS BASICALLY TACTICAL. HE THINKS THEY WANT A RENEWAL OF UNDOF MANDATE, BUT ARE LOOKING FOR A FACE SAVING WAY OF DOING SO. HERE WALDHEIM AGAIN STRESSED HE HAD REPEATEDLY URGED THE TWO APPROACHES SUGGESTED BY YOU, BUT HAD ALWAYS BEEN TURNED DOWN. IF THESE APPROACHES ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE AND IF THE SYRIANS CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THEIR PROPOSED APPROACH EVEN AFTER HEARING THE NEGATIVE ISRAELI REACTION, SOME WAY HAS TO BE FOUND OUT OF THIS DILEMMA. SYRIANS MUST SOMEHOW BE CONVINCED THEY SHOULD RENEW THE UNDOF MANDATE FOR SIX MONTHS IN THE USUAL WAY. IN THINKING ABOUT HOW TO DO SO, WALDHEIM HAS COME UP WITH THE IDEA OF SEPARATING THE CONCEPT OF A UNSC DEBATE FROM THE MATTER OF THE UNDOF RENEWAL QUESTION. WALDHEIM INTENDS TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE SYRIANS TO DO SO. IF THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST ON A UNSC MEETING, HE IS TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF SUGGESTING SUCH A SC MEETING MIGHT TAKE PLACE EARLY NEXT YEAR TO DEAL
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WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION. IF ACCEPTED, UNDOF RENEWAL COULD THEN TAKE PLACE IN THE CUSTOMARY, ROUTINE RESOLUTION. WALDHEIM THOUGHT THE SYRIANS WOULD WANT SOME ASSURANCE THAT SUCH A UNSC MEETING WILL INDEED TAKE PLACE. HE THINKS THAT PERHAPS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNSC COULD, DURING DISCUSSION OF THE UNDOF RESOLUTION, MAKE A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNSC TO CONVENE SUCH A MEETING EARLY NEXT YEAR. ALTHOUGH NOTHING SPECIFIC WOULD BE STATED, THE SYRIANS WOULD KNOW THEY WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO GET THE PLO HERE. SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD BE MADE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT NO SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION WILL COME OUT OF ANY UNSC MEETING. CONCEIVABLY, TOO, SUCH A UNSC MEETING COULD DECIDE, AFTER LENGTHY DEBATE, TO SET UP THE DESIRED PREPARATORY CONFERENCE. WALDHEIM SAID THIS IS THE ONLY THOUGHT THAT OCCURS TO HIM TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. HE INTENDS TO TRY IT OUT ON THE SYRIANS TOMORROW. IF YOU HAVE ANY REACTION OR ANY OTHER THOUGHTS ON HOW TO PROCEED THAT YOU WOULD LIKE HIM TO HAVE BEFORE HE MEETS WITH ASAD, HE SUGGESTED THESE MIGHT BE SENT TO MURPHY WHO CAN CONTACT HIM

AT THE GUEST HOUSE IN DAMASCUS IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL
THERE TOMORROW.

8. WALDHEIM HAD ALSO SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH THE
SOVIET AMBASSADOR IMMEDIATELY AFTER I LEFT TO GIVE
HIM A SIMILAR REPORT. HE INTENDS TO URGE THE
SOVIETS PRESS THE SYRIANS TO RENEW UNDOF.

9. YOU MAY WISH TO PASS THIS MESSAGE TO DAMASCUS AND USUN.
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UNQTE KISSINGER

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